

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

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(CONCLUDED.)

direct and immediate effects of their action to the cause of colonization, were taken the deepest prejudices in the mind of the free negro, and at the same time rivet the chains of the slave. It is another effect. In the slave States, the ignorant and uninformed, it is the advocates of colonization in the free States, whilst in the free States it is the abettors of slavery, and the worst enemies of the African race.

It may readily be supposed that at this time and under these circumstances, the progress of colonization was greatly retarded. But in nothing has the hand of a wise and merciful Providence been more signally displayed. There was great danger that the infant colony of Liberia would become burdened with a population which it could not sustain. It required time to organize its government, to mature its plans, and to secure its resources. To have been over-whelmed with emigrants, of which there was at this time great danger, would have proved a serious calamity. But during this period the support of the parent society was partially withdrawn; they were left to stand alone, that their capacity of civil government might be more fully developed, and that they might be better prepared, by trials and hardships, for the glorious mission to which they have been assigned.

What has been the result? The documentary history of Liberia contains indisputable evidence of high capacity in all the departments of Government. Their firmness and discretion, their heroic courage and high sense of justice, as evidenced in their intercourse with the natives, command our unequalled respect. The diffusion of education, the equal and enlightened administration of justice, and the free course which is given to the word of God, contain the assurance that the sacred deposit of human liberty is safe in their hands.

This colony, with its dependencies, numbers about five thousand inhabitants. It now rises to our view an infant republic. Her citizens are discussing with all the lights which history and philosophy can furnish, the expediency of taking position at once amongst the nations of the earth. There is a calm deliberation, an enlightened forecast, and a moral integrity here displayed, which do honor to human nature, and cannot fail to awaken the generous sympathy of the civilized world.

This is the glorious instrumentality by which the blessings of civilization, and the truths of Christianity, are to be bestowed upon millions of the human family.

African colonization constitutes a new epoch in the policy of the world. Other colonies in ancient and modern times have been planted by cupidity or ambition. But the establishment of colonies for the purposes of civilization, and based upon principles of love to God, and good will to men, is an achievement of the present age, and one of the blessed triumphs of the Christian religion.

We are not apt in making our calculation of the progress of events, to take into the estimate the silent yet wonderful force of moral causes. We can calculate the momentum and probable effects of fleets and armies, but the results to be produced by the light of truth, bursting and beaming upon the awakened intellect of a nation, are beyond our feeble comprehension.

We are sometimes led to doubt the efficiency of such a cause, because it is silent and gradual in its operation. But this is not the induction of sound philosophy. That power which is most sensibly felt in the physical universe is the Sun, which visits us in the silence of the morning. His advent is so noiseless that he does not wake an infant in his cradle. So it is with the light of truth. It is clothed with a Divine energy. Under its benign influence the mind of the nation will expand, and its faculties will be gradually unfolded, bringing forth the fruits of civilization, the blessings of liberty, and the hopes of immortality.

I have spoken of the evils which result from the existence of this peculiar class in the midst of our population, and of the incalculable benefits to be derived from emigration. But whilst it is conceded that the condition of the negro may be improved, and that Africa may be civilized by such means, it is said that the scheme of colonization is impracticable, and that its means are wholly inadequate to relieve the country from this accumulating evil. It may be said that the giant of the new world has not sufficient strength to rise under this mountain weight.

This dependency, so unworthy of the American character, is the result of a false apprehension of the nature and extent of the evil to be removed and of the means to be employed for its removal.

The annual increase of this class of population, according to the present census, may be estimated at 75,000. A wise and just system of colonization requires that none should be removed but the young, the healthy, and the vigorous. They are best prepared for the untrodden scenes of a new life, and they have more time for moral and intellectual improvement. If, therefore, our resources were applied to the removal of those from fifteen to fifty years of age, leaving behind the extremely young, and the old who are sinking from age, how soon would we get upon the descending grade. Thus every year the evil would be lessened, whilst the means for its removal are increasing.

The fact should not be forgotten in this connection, that the free negro population of the United States is comparatively unproductive. It is the fresh accession which it is constantly receiving from the newly emancipated slaves, which imparts to its principal strength.

It is only necessary to bring the public will to bear upon this subject, and the object is attained. The annual expenditure for such a purpose would scarcely be felt. Look at the amount of emigration annually

to our shores by the poor of Europe, based upon their own private means, and then compare their ability with the resources of a mighty nation. The time is rapidly approaching, when the same powerful motives, which stimulate the oppressed of Europe to seek our shores, will be free to bear with ten-fold power upon the free colored population of the United States. Every company of emigrants which lands in Liberia, is increasing and strengthening the ties which bind them to their Fatherland. There is a steady current of thought and feeling in this direction. The rapid transmission of intelligence, constant and increasing intercourse, and the free interchange of commodities, will bring the brethren of the two continents into closer and familiar contact. All the present dread and apprehension of the danger, which await them on a far distant and inhospitable coast, will be lost in the earnest desire to join their brethren in the land of promise. Every gale which sweeps across the broad Atlantic, will wait a message of love. The question then, will not be, who will go, but who will longer remain in captivity and in exile!

Let it be remembered also, that as Liberia is extended and grows in wealth and population, the difficulties of emigration will be proportionally diminished. Not only will the prospect of a happy home, surrounded by the comforts of civilization and refinement, present a strong inducement to the man of property, but the poor and the enterprising will be tempted to seek an asylum, where industry and merit will be rewarded. Thus the wealth, the energies and enthusiasm of this entire class, will swell the tide of public munificence and be directed in the proper channel. The notes of preparation will be heard throughout the length and breadth of our land. The strong and irresistible current of popular feeling will be in one direction. The mighty work will be accomplished.

Why should it be doubted? Is it because statesmen are silent upon the subject, and the glorious results which it contemplates have not been dreamed of in their philosophy? We must learn from the history of the past, that the course of events has not always been determined by political management. If we would judge aright, we must take our view from a more elevated position—we must ascend upon higher ground. The grand epochs in the history of man have been signaled by higher and nobler motives than usually impel the masses of action were embodied in the human soul and called forth by the power of God. Christianity is the mighty and endurable force, which is acting upon the world. It will not be disturbed in its onward progress by the clashing interests and opposing schemes of worldly policy.

It is the spirit of Christianity, which originated the scheme of African Colonization, and has sustained it from the beginning. No vindictive and persecuting spirit has marked the annals of this institution. It declares no war upon society. It does not seek to imbrue its hands in blood. No incendiary spirit is cherished in its bosom. It has not obtruded itself into the halls of legislation, to fan the flame of civil discord, nor has it impudently dared to usurp the place of the Most High within the hallowed precincts of the church. It has proposed to itself the humble but Heaven directed mission of doing good.

This is a system of benevolence, which respects the rights of property as guaranteed by the constitution and the laws. It is based upon the inviolability of private rights. It stands opposed to the wild and fanatical spirit, which seeks to agitate and disturb the repose of society. It addresses itself to higher motives and follows in the path clearly marked out by the Providence of God.

It is a remarkable fact, that whilst the Colonization Society has carefully avoided all interference with the relations of master and slave, it has done more to promote emancipation than all the Abolition Societies in the country. The reason is an obvious one, and is founded in a just and enlightened view of the subject. The emancipation which it promotes and encourages, is real emancipation. It is justified by every consideration which can move the patriot and the Christian. Hence it is, that this principle has seized upon the public mind in the slave-holding States. It is the only plan ever devised which furnishes to them a reasonable hope of removing the evil of slavery.

Besides, there is an external force, operating upon the slave States in connection with this subject. I mean the spirit of the age. The achievements of science and of art, the improvements in agriculture and the various wonderful application of labor-saving machinery, with the overflowing and ever increasing tide of emigration to our shores from every country in Europe, are undermining the value of slave labor. The operation of these causes is sensibly felt. Every man of observation must have seen that slavery, for years past, has been sloughing off in the middle and western States. Some how or other, the idea has seized upon the public mind, that the intrinsic value of this species of property has been depreciated. The tenure by which it is held has been weakened. These same causes will continue to operate with an increased force, whilst the power of resistance is daily and rapidly diminishing.

Let it be borne in mind that these causes are not local in their operation. They will find their way to the south and will there produce the same results. I speak not of probable results, but of the necessary and eternal relations of cause and effect. The universal competition of slave with free labor, must be the same every where. The indomitable energy and superior skill and industry of the whites, with a dense and overflowing population, will ultimately deprive the slave of his employment, and render him valueless as property. The laws of population will remain the same in all time to come. We must remember that the present and the past are not the future. To-day is not forever. The value of slave property in the middle and western States, has been kept up by the demand in the south. That demand must have an end. The statesman can now define with perfect certainty, the boundaries of slave territory. The growth of population in the free States, and in the vast territory from which free States are to be made, is so rapid as almost

to defy the powers of calculation. The power of the government, the political strength of the nation, will be with those who have but little sympathy with the institution of slavery.

In this view of the matter, how important does it become to provide an efficient remedy for the evil? How forcible is the appeal to the patriot and the statesman? It is when we divest ourselves of prejudice and realize that this is a subject of deep and vital interest, that the scheme of colonization rises to its true dignity and importance. It is when we are most thoroughly persuaded of the nature and extent of the evil which affects us, that this benevolent design points us to the way of deliverance. It assures us of the justice, mercy, and wisdom of God. Our trust is in Him who delivered three millions of people from Egyptian bondage, and led them through the wilderness for forty years, with a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. The time will come, when the proud vessel of our Republic, freighted with the last cargo of American slavery, shall spread her canvass for the shores of Liberia. The rejoicing lute of millions of eyes will be turned upon it. The blessings of Heaven will be invoked by an innumerable host of uplifted hands, and all the jarring elements of party strife will be melted and mingled into one general prayer of joy, and thankfulness, and safety.

Inquiry into the Causes which have Retarded the Accumulation of Wealth and Increase of Population in the Southern States. By a Carolinian.

CHAPTER V.

In the foregoing chapters I have maintained that slavery is the great cause of the unprosperous condition of the South; and have endeavored to show in what way it affects the productive energies of the country. I will now notice another circumstance to which the same evils have been attributed. It is asserted by the advocates of Free Trade, that the South owes its misfortunes and poverty solely to the Protective Policy, which benefits the manufacturer at the expense of the agriculturist. I have no wish to controvert the doctrines of Free Trade, or Protection, at present; but I shall endeavor to show that neither can be an adequate cause for the great disparity which exists in the condition of the Northern and Southern sections of the Union. It is contended by the advocates of Free Trade that the duties which are imposed on foreign manufactures, coming in competition with similar articles made in this country, operate as a tax upon the consumer for the benefit of the home producer, and that when such duties exceed the revenue standard, they in fact take money out of the pocket of the farmer without any equivalent, in order to enrich the manufacturer. The extent to which the Tariff is alleged to perform this operation of robbing the cultivator of the soil is equal to the difference between the price at which foreign goods would sell in our market without a Tariff and that at which they sell with it, or at which the home manufacturer can afford his. The advocates of the Tariff deny all this, and maintain the tax mainly falls on the foreign producer, while the home competition renders prices as low or even lower than they would be without a Tariff, so that nothing of the advantages of the domestic market, which is incident to the manufacturing establishments. But, for the purpose of my argument, it may be admitted that the Free Trade theory is correct—allow that the Tariff is as injurious as they contend it is to agriculture and commerce—why, I would ask, should all the evils fall upon the South and none upon the North? Why is not the North impoverished? Why do the free States, without an exception, whether they be engaged chiefly in agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, continue to increase in population and wealth in an unprecedented ratio, while the South languishes? In the free States, whether new or old, towns and cities are everywhere to be met with, exhibiting every element of prosperous growth; and whether the Tariff be high or low, they go on from year to year to increase in importance. But the reverse of all this is true in the South. Tariff or no Tariff, the older slave-holding States seem to be subject to an irreversible law of decline. This cannot be attributed to the density of their population, which is in fact very small compared even with our own free States, and almost nothing in contrast with the States of Europe.

From 1830 to 1840 the population of Virginia and the Carolinas made almost no advance. On the other hand, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, increased rapidly. If the Tariff produced the misfortunes of the former, what caused the prosperity of the latter? But now the same stagnation is beginning to be felt in the new States, which has hitherto been witnessed in the old. The good cotton lands are becoming exhausted, and slavery has performed its mission. Emigration to those States will in a few years cease, and the tide will pass on to Texas, which, in its turn, will undergo the same process of rapid settlement, early maturity, and speedy decline.

If the Tariff injuriously affects agriculture, it must be most severely felt by that species which is least profitable. Those sections of the country which are chiefly or wholly concerned in the production of grain, fruits, and vegetables, and cattle and horses, would be the position I am combating be true, exhibit an appearance of the greatest exhaustion and poverty, while the sections producing tobacco, cotton and rice—articles which enjoy the monopoly of every market in the world—would be supposed to suffer least from the burthens of the Tariff. But in fact the grain-growing States are in a far better condition than those producing the great staples. A glance at the map of the United States will show, by those exponents of social advancement—towns and cities—that the farming States are much ahead of the planting in all the constituents of national wealth.

The proportion of capital invested in manufactures in the Northern States is very inconsiderable, compared with that engaged in other branches of industry—and that proportion of capital engaged in the manufacture of articles which depend on protection, is still less. The Protective policy, therefore, cannot account for the prosperity of that section, any more than it cannot cause the impoverishment of the South.

But the commerce of the South languishes as much as its agriculture. It is true, that its southern ports are further from Europe; but that circumstance cannot account for the fact that nearly all the imports of the country are through northern ports. The difference in distance is trifling; and the Southern harbors, particularly Norfolk and Charleston, are equal to any north of them. But admitting that they lie under some disadvantages of position, it is much more than counterbalanced by the considerations that three-fourths of the exports of the country are necessarily made through them. The chief exports of the United States, cotton and tobacco, amounting to some seventy-five or eighty millions per annum, are, of necessity sent abroad through Southern ports. It would be in the natural course of trade for the vessels which take abroad these products to return to the same ports with cargoes of merchandise in exchange for them; but instead of doing so, they return to Northern cities with the imports, from whence that portion of them destined for the South are taken in the coasting vessels after a transshipment. This is caused by the fact, that the great bulk of Southern capital is unproductively invested in slavery, leaving none to be otherwise employed. If the free States furnished the great bulk of the exports, their commercial prosperity would undoubtedly be ascribed to that circumstance; or if the exports from the two sections of the Union were equal, it might be plausibly alleged that the commercial superiority of the North was attributable to its more favorable position. But nearly all the exports being from Southern ports, their meagre and languishing commerce is inexplicable upon any other ground than that I have assigned.

I have now to combat the very opposite opinion, viz: that Free Trade caused the ruin of African Agriculture. I have seen an article in Blackwood's Magazine for March, 1844, which makes use of the historical facts, in an argument against Free Trade, which I had intended to adduce in corroboration of my views of slavery. The writer of the article attributes the decline of Italian agriculture to the practical free trade which existed between the various parts of the Roman empire, whereby the agriculturist of Italy was brought in competition with the fertile plains of Egypt and Lydia. It seems that the Free Traders in England have controverted this reasoning of the Reviewer and of Allison, from whom he borrows the idea, and they have assigned the same cause, slavery, for the decline of agriculture which I do, but I presume that they attribute the evil to slavery without attempting to show how it operates. This I think I have done. I have shown that three or four times more capital is necessary, in this country, to carry on agricultural operations with slave labor than is requisite with free labor. Where the price of land is very high, the proportional difference is not so great in favor of free labor; but the actual difference is always equal to the value of the slaves. This is the case notwithstanding the profitable-ness of slavery to the individual owner of that species of property. Its profitability is easily accounted for, and consists of the laborers wages being transferred to the pocket of his master.

The Reviewer contends that slavery existed in equal degree in Egypt and Lydia as in Italy, but without equal means of information upon the subject, I doubt the correctness of the statement. The Roman people, for a long period before and after the fall of the Republic, were engaged in continual wars, which, as history informs us, and reason makes probable, had the effect of withdrawing the free agricultural population from their homes, and the introduction of thousands of prisoners, to adorn the triumphs of her successful generals, would naturally supply the place of the freemen. We learn that such was the case, and that Italy was abandoned to the wretched cultivation of slave labor.

On the other hand, the distant provinces were likely to have their population withdrawn to support the wars, and the inferiority of the Egyptian peasantry to the Roman people, would disqualify them for the duty. Doubtless the peasantry of Egypt and Lydia, were in a condition little better than slavery, morally speaking; but if they were not actually chattel—if each individual was so far free as to be under the necessity of providing for himself and family—the political evils of such a state of things would be far less. The great political evil of slavery is its absorption of capital which would otherwise be employed in some species of improvement. If, therefore, the political condition of the peasantry in those countries was in any degree similar to be, it must have been much more favorable to production than a state of absolute slavery.

To show that free trade, without reference to slavery, could not have proved destructive to Italian agriculture I will appeal to the condition of our own country. What portion of the American Union exhibits the highest agricultural improvement? Is it not invariably the case (except in the lighted regions of slavery) that the oldest and most populous parts are under the same free of cultivation? And yet the same free trade exists here that existed in the Roman Empire. It would be strange if that portion of the country which produces the greatest quantity of manure should be ruined by the rivalry of remote regions. The only effect of that competition would be a fall in the price of land; but there could be no necessity for abandoning its cultivation.

The injurious rivalry of the Western States cannot affect the Eastern longer than is necessary to exhaust or tire the rich harvests for a few years of manuring. This has already taken place in all the new States where lands have been long subjected to their careless husbandry; and in a few years the Atlantic States will be relieved from any unequal competition of that kind.

I have been a little surprised to see the free trade party in New York objecting to further improvement in the facilities for transporting Western grain to the seaboard. What is that but demanding protection to the New York farmer?—the protection of space and difficulty—which is no less effective than the highest tariff.

CHAPTER VI.

The value of the slave to his master is the difference between what he produces and what he consumes; in other words, the slave is a charge to his master, or to the land he tills, to the amount of his food and clothing, the necessity of feeding and clothing the slave population, therefore, so far from enhancing, must diminish the value of the land. But the reverse of this is the case with reference to the free laborer. He is under the necessity of feeding and clothing himself, and consequently, so far from being a charge upon the land, he furnishes a charge upon the landlord, furnishes a market for the products of the soil.

This proposition is predicated on the known fact that nearly all the slaves in the United States are employed in agriculture, or by agriculturists as domestics. Of the few who are owned by persons unconnected with tillage, the proposition is not true, because the owner must purchase of the farmer whatever is necessary to the maintenance of his slave; and the wants of the slave, therefore, contribute to a market for agricultural products. But the number thus situated is too inconsiderable to affect the general principles above laid down. It is to be remarked further, that if the planter or farmer, employing slaves, fails to maintain them upon the products of his own soil, he must make up the deficiency by purchasing from other agriculturists; in this way, the wants of the slave affords encouragement to the agriculture of the State or district whence their support comes. But this gain to agriculture is counterbalanced by the loss it sustains in the State or district where the slaves are thus supported.

The proposition above stated, that the necessity of feeding slaves is a burden to the soil, while the wants of the free laborer are conducive to agricultural improvement, will become evident by considering,—first, that whatever the free laborer eats he pays for, and secondly, that if he eat nothing, if he were a mere machine, the necessity of producing whatever he consumes would be dispensed with, and consequently the market for the products of the soil would be in that degree narrowed. If the merchant, the mechanic, the professional man, could live in society without food, it is evident that the farmer could never employ their services, for the reason that he would have nothing to pay with. Therefore their wants hold out an inducement to the cultivation and improvement of the soil. But the laborer pays no less than the merchant or lawyer for what he consumes; therefore the supply of his wants is equally conducive to agricultural improvement. In effect, the merchant, mechanic, and professional man, are as much the employees or laborers of the agriculturist as he who ploughs his field—they do his bidding then for a consideration: so does the common laborer. It is of course not the interest of the agriculturist to pay wages, but, having to pay them, it is to his advantage that the laborer, in common with the community at large, is a consumer of the products of the soil. In like manner, it is against the interest of the farmer to pay for the services of the physician or lawyer, but such expenses must be incurred—physicians and lawyers are necessary, and they must be paid; and they are in that way a necessary evil, a drawback upon the resources of the farmer. But as consumers of the products of the soil, their presence is beneficial to the farmer, and raises the demand and the price of whatever he sends to market. The same is true of his dealings with the merchant and the mechanic. The payment of their bills is contrary to his interest; but, as consumers, their presence adds to the value of the land, by enhancing the value of its products. And in what particular differs the case of the common laborer? He is under no more necessity to work with out wages than the lawyer or physician, the merchant or tradesman, and he equally pays for what he consumes; therefore, the market which his wants create, is equally beneficial to the farmer, and equally promotive of agricultural improvement, as that which is created by the wants of any other class of society. The slave, on the contrary, labors from compulsion. He is allowed no wages, and the necessity of feeding him is so much loss to the master, which it is his interest to dispense with as far as possible. The slave lives at the expense of his master, and of course, what he consumes can hold out no inducement to improve the soil, but on the contrary, must retard improvement. The free laborer lives at his own expense, and therefore, what he consumes must promote improvement.

The farmer who employs free labor prefers boarding the laborer, for the reason that he thus discharges a large part of the wages without advancing money. If the laborer boards himself his wages are higher. Hence his wants, like those of other classes, combine to make a market for the products of the soil. But it would be greatly to the advantage of the slaveholder if his slave could maintain himself; in that case, the master would reap the whole wages of the laborer without any drawback. It follows from hence, that the abolition of slavery in the U. States would disburden the landed interest of the expense of supporting two and a half millions of people, and at the same time, would add to the value of the lands, by opening a market in the wants of two and a half millions. The necessity of feeding and clothing the slaves is a drawback upon the improvement of the land; and the abolition of the system, by bringing into existence an equal number of freemen, who would be under the necessity of maintaining themselves, would be an encouragement to improvement. Thus the free population of the Southern States, by the census of 1840, amounted to four and three-quarter millions—the slave population to about two and a half millions; and, consequently, the inducement to improve the soil is made up of these circumstances, viz: the profitable-ness of growing cotton, tobacco, and other articles for foreign and Northern markets, together with the domestic market, which the wants of four and three-quarter millions of free people create, diminished by the wants of two and a half millions of slaves, which must be furnished gratis; the difference being two and a quarter millions. But the abolition of slavery would add the wants of the manumitted slaves to the other circumstances; and the inducement to improve the land would then be made up of the profitable-ness of growing cotton, tobacco, and the like, for the foreign or Northern markets, together with the advantage of supplying the wants of seven and one-quarter millions of people. In this case the wants of the negroes are added to, in the other subtracted from, the inducements to improve; and the difference is therefore equal to twice the wants of the slave population. Hence the abolition of slavery would have

the same effect upon the value of land, and hold out the same encouragement to its improvement, which would be produced by the introduction of five millions of free people by immigration, under present circumstances. What the positive addition to the value of land would be, from the abolition of slavery, it would be difficult to say with exactness; it would certainly bear a large proportion to their present value. Of course, the lands in those parts of the South where the slaves are most numerous would receive the greatest augmentation of value, inasmuch as they would be at once relieved from the heavier burden, and be offered the better market in the wants of the greater number manumitted.

I have thus shown that the slaveholders, being also the land proprietors, would, in a few years, be compensated for the manumission of their slaves, by the augmented value of their lands. In considering the compensation which should be made to them, in the event of abolition, therefore, it would be asking too much of government to pay down the market value of the slaves.

Having endeavored to show that slavery, at any time, is inconsistent with the accumulation of wealth and with the increase of population, I will now advert to the particular circumstances which make it highly desirable to the Southern people to rid themselves of slavery at the earliest practicable period.

In the course of fifteen years more, the supply of slave labor in the new States will equal that of the older States at present; the good lands will have been occupied, and much of them, doubtless, will have undergone the process of wearing out; and this state of things will generate the same tendency to the deportation of the slaves which has been seen to exist so strongly for years past in Virginia and the Carolinas. This tendency denotes the excess of supply over demand in the State where it is produced; and unless there exists a market elsewhere, the price must necessarily fall, as would that of any other valuable commodity. But there is this peculiarity about this species of property,—that the production or supply of the article cannot be limited in proportion to the diminution of the demand. The slaves will go on to increase in numbers without reference to their value, which, in consequence, may become nothing.

The acquisition of Texas can only postpone this event for a few years. All the States east of the Mississippi river, except the States of Mississippi and Florida, have a sufficient, or nearly sufficient, supply of slave labor. The former will, in five or six years, have received its full share, while the latter, owing to its barrenness, can never require a large number. It may be fairly predicted, therefore, that, after five or seven years, the whole increase of the slave population must find a market in the States west of the Mississippi river. After that period, the increase in ten years will fall little short of a million. To suppose that so many can find a ready market, would be to anticipate a great increase in the consumption of cotton, with an unlimited extent of fertile land adapted to its growth. The accounts of Texas are so various and contradictory, that it would be hazardous to conjecture what may be its capacity to furnish profitable occupation to slaves; but supposing that one hundred thousand square miles of it is equal to the State of Mississippi in fertility, it would not afford a field for the employment of more than a million and a half of slaves. I arrive at this conclusion by referring to the number of slaves possessed by the older States, which are under the necessity of sending off the increase. In fourteen years there will not be less than a million, perhaps more than that number, of slaves which in the States to be formed of the Texas territory; for it must be remembered, that after five or six years the whole natural increase of more than three millions must find occupation there, or become a burden to their owners.

In 1790, when the first census was taken under the constitution, the population of the whole Union was little more than three millions, although the country had been settled for more than one hundred and eighty years. But in the next fifty years, the population had risen to more than seven millions. In like manner the slave population every year increases in a greater ratio, while the territory adapted to its employment is limited. A generation has sufficed to supply the new States east of the Mississippi with slaves, whereas it required a century and a half to supply a similar territory in the older States. What has been the work of a generation, will now be accomplished in a few years. The surplus slave population of the Atlantic States has not diminished, while that from the new States will, in a short time, be added to it, and the whole must find a market or employment west of the Mississippi.

It is hence evident that the Southern country is approaching a period of great and sudden depreciation in the value of slave property.

A Timely Rebuke.

"There is not a lower ambition, a poorer way of thought, than that which would confine all excellence, or arrogate its final accomplishment to the present, or modern times. We ordinarily speak and think of those who had the misfortune to write or live before us, as labouring under very singular privations and disadvantages in not having the benefit of those improvements which we have made, as buried in the grossest ignorance, or the slaves of 'poor penury'; and we make a cheap and infallible estimate of their progress in civilization upon a graduated scale of perfectibility, calculated from the meridian of our own times. If we have pretty well got rid of the narrow bigotry that would limit all sense or virtue to our country, and have fraternized, like the cosmopolites, with our neighbors and contemporaries, we have made our self-love amends by letting the generation we live in engross nearly all our admiration, and by pronouncing a sweeping sentence of barbarism and ignorance on our ancestry backwards, from the commencement (as near as can be) of the nineteenth, or the latter end of the eighteenth century. From thence we date a new era, the dawn of our own intellect, and that of the world, like 'the secret influence of light' glimmering on the confines of 'Chaos' and old night; new manners die, and all

the cumbersome 'pomp of elder days' vanishes, and is lost in worse than Gothic darkness. Paved with the glittering pride of our superficial accomplishments, and upstart pretensions, we fancy that everything beyond that magic circle is prejudice and error; and all, before the present enlightened period, but a dull and useless blank in the great map of time. We are so dazzled with the gloss and novelty of modern discoveries, that we cannot take into our mind's eye the vast expanse, the lengthened perspective of human intellect, and a cloud hangs over and conceals its loftiest monuments, if they are removed to a little distance from us—the cloud of our own vanity and short-sightedness. The modern scientist stifles all understanding but his own, and that which conceives like his own. We think, in this age of reason and consummation of philosophy, because we knew nothing twenty or thirty years ago, and began then to think for the first time in our lives, that the rest of mankind were in the same predicament, and never knew anything till we did; that the world had grown old in sloth and ignorance, had dreamt out its long minority of five thousand years in a dozing state, and that it first began to wake out of sleep, to rouse itself, and look about it, startled by the light of our unexpected discoveries, and the noise we made about them. Strange error of our inflated self-love. Because the clothes we remember to have seen worn when we were children are now out of fashion, and our grandmothers were then old women, we conceive, with magnanimous continuity of reasoning, that it must have been much worse three hundred years before, and that grace, youth, and beauty are things of modern date—as if nature had ever been old, or the sun had first shone on our folly and presumption. Because, in a word, the last generation, when tottering on the stage, were not so active, so sprightly, and so promising as we were, we begin to imagine that people formerly must have crawled about in a feeble, torpid state, like flies in winter, in a sort of dim twilight of the understanding; nor can we think what thoughts they could conceive, in the absence of all those topics that so agreeably enliven and diversify our conversation and literature, mistaking the imperfection of our knowledge for the defect of their organs, as if it were necessary for us to have a register and certificate of their thoughts, or as if because they did not see with our eyes, hear with our ears, and understand with our understandings, they could hear, see, and understand nothing. A false inference could not be drawn, nor one more contrary to the maxims and cautions of a wise humanity."—Hazlitt.

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